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I want to talk about peace. No man, anywhere, wants peace more than I do. No man, anywhere, wants to avoid war more than I do. I know war. I have sons and daughters whom I do not want touched by war.

We can begin, I know, with the assumption that all Americans share the desire for peace. They share also the responsibility for answering the terrible question of how we are to have and to hold peace in deeply troubled and divided world.

We must, you must, all of us must search our hearts and heads for an answer that rings true.

But we must search for the answer with facts, not merely with wishes or wishful thinking.

In the first place, we must recognize that it is not possible -- or at least not honest -- to talk about peace in the abstract today. We cannot talk about peace without talking about and understanding Communism.

The great, harsh fact of today's troubled world is that Communism is at war -- at war against us, at war against all non-Communist nations.

The great, harsh fact is that Communism is the only major threat to the peace of the world anywhere today.

The great, harsh fact is that Communism wants the whole world.

In Cuba, in the Congo, at the Berlin Wall, in Indonesia, in Vietnam, wherever the flames of conflict are being fanned, Communism is the cause.

The methods it uses in its unrelenting drive to conquer the world are based solely upon expediency. What Communism will do, how far it will go, at any given moment, depends upon their hard-headed, cold-blooded assessment of the risks they must face.

If they can bury us, as they have promised to do -- if they can win the world, as they have said they will -- if they can do this without nuclear war, then they will try to avoid nuclear war.

But remember this. It is not compassion or decency which prevents their attacking us. It is not concern for our children. It is fear. They respect our power and they fear provoking its use against them.

This is the reason we must maintain the peace through preparedness.

But can we, in good heart and conscience, look forward to a Cold War which will last forever unless it ends suddenly in nuclear destruction or takeover by a Communist dictatorship?

We cannot, and I say we need not look forward to such a bleak future. There is a rational solution to the problem which confronts us. The present policy that guides us, however, is based upon false answers. American foreign policy based on those false answers has made it altogether too easy for Communists to seize complete control of 18 nations and enslave one-third of the world's population.

The worst of the false answers is that the Communists will stop being hostile if we accommodate them. If we can convince them that we really want to be friends, according to this theory, then they will become friends. This naive assumption is based on a complete misunderstanding of Communism. It puts us in the position of a lamb trying to convince a lion that he is not really hungry.

Thirty years of tragic experience have proven this theory utterly false.

This thesis is what convinced Franklin Roosevelt that he should recognize the Soviet Union -- and it is what led to American concessions to Russia at the conferences in Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

It prompted so much American aid to Russia during and after World War II that we can honestly say that much of modern, industrial Russia is a creation of the American taxpayer.

This in thesis directed the settlement of the Cuba crisis, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the sale of wheat to Russia -- to mention just a few.

It should be clear to everyone that the "let's be friends" theory has not worked. Communism has not moderated its goal. It has continued to gain ground. The Communists have been stymied in Europe by the mighty shield of NATO (which, incidentally, is cracking up under this administration) and they have been thrown back to the 38th parallel in Korea -- but these reversals have



been brought about by the use or the threatened use of military force.

Almost everywhere else, the Communists have gained ground.

If we want to halt their gains, if we want to save America's freedom, we must be stronger than the enemy by far. We can't make the Reds reasonable but we can make Communism count the odds.

But merely possessing the weapons of strength is not the same as being strong. We need the will to be strong. All the weapons in the world cannot save us if our will is weak.

We must realize that the responsible use of power -- to deter those with hostile intent -- is not nearly so likely to provoke all-out war as it is to prevent war by keeping the aggressor within bounds.

Whenever free world leaders have shrunk from responsible use of power at critical moments in history, they have permitted little problems to grow into gigantic and infinitely more dangerous problems. This has always been true, from Munich to the Bay of Pigs, and it is high time that our leaders faced the fact.

If we follow the notion that a "let's be friends" approach, coupled with a defense establishment we are reluctant to use, can save us from Communism, we will run a very grave risk of war.

The balance of power cannot long remain static. The threat of a technological breakthrough by the Soviet must be considered. If the Communists believe the odds favor them, they will not hesitate to hit us with their most fearsome weapons.

The first and central duty of the Federal government is to provide for the common defense. In the present state of the world, military spending is and must be high. But it alone amounts to less than half of total Federal expenditures. In the 12 months ending June 30, 1964, the Federal government spent the astounding total of \$120 billion, or nearly \$650 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Of this amount, \$55 billion was spent on our military forces. Non-defense expenditures amounted to \$65 billion.

More important, the sharp rise in federal spending in the present administration has been mainly for purposes other than our common defense. In 1960, the final full year of the Eisenhower administration, the Federal government spent \$94 billion, of which \$46 billion was for defense. In the four years since, total expenditures have risen by nearly \$30 billion or by nearly one-third -- this is what the administration calls economy. Federal expenditures on our military forces have risen by \$10 billion, so two-thirds of the rise in expenditure was for other purposes. Non-defense expenditures alone rose by 40 per cent in the past four year.

Currently, the administration proposes actually to cut our military spending, in order to provide funds for sticking the government's fingers in a still larger mess of pies -- for handouts here, subsidies there, all no doubt said to be for good purposes but, like past efforts in these directions, likely to end up having effects quite the opposite of those intended, yet draining the public's purse.

That way lies national suicide.

There is no surer way to condemn this nation to the status of a second-rate power, incapable of exerting influence in the world at large, than to fritter away taxable capacity in do-gooder schemes that waste our substance. The experience of Britain is a striking example of how that can happen. We must not let it happen here.

The defenses of the nation need to be strengthened not weakened. We must be ready to spend more on them when needed, not less.

We must not try to save money by putting all our trust in untried missiles while scrapping tried and tested weapons.

We cannot afford to reduce our defense establishment in the hope that a friendly Russian regime will accommodate us by doing the same.

We must not let our guard drop because of a temporarily friendly mask.

We must seek true economy, not the false economy of weakening our defenses.

The core of our defense consists of the men who serve in the armed forces. We are currently manning these forces by an outmoded draft that is inconsistent with the values of a free people, that is grossly inequitable and inefficient, and that besides is unduly expensive.

Never before have we had a conscript army except in time of declared war. Always we have relied on volunteers, ready to serve their country.



The present draft introduces uncertainty into the lives of all our young men and young women, makes it difficult for them to plan their careers with assurance, and most important of all, discriminates grossly against many of the poor and the less well-educated, who cannot afford the various escape hatches now open. And it does not even meet the needs of the armed forces.

The low re-enlistment rate and resultant rapid turnover of men trained at great expense reduce the efficiency of the armed forces and impose heavy financial costs. It is long past time that we scrap these arrangements, and return to a volunteer army, which induces men to serve by offering them an attractive career. That is a course of action recommended alike by freedom and by economy.

There are serious charges that must be placed against the present civilian leadership of the defense department on both counts.

On the count of freedom, the present Secretary of Defense must be charged with mistake after mistake in evaluating the intentions of Communism and in understanding the dynamics of Communism.

His efforts to turn the Defense Department into a Disarmament Department, his participation in the massive mis-evaluation of Soviet intentions which led to the Cuban missile crisis, are parts of the indictment on this score.

His ceaseless attempts to downgrade professional military men and his persistent attempts to turn basic defense decisions to political purposes also must be included in the indictment.

On the count of economy, the present Secretary of Defense must be charged with mistake after mistake in seeking to save pennies and dollars at the expense of the weapons, equipment, and plans upon which the lives of our citizens and our citizen - soldiers may depend. And a careful accounting, I am willing to predict will show that even the high claims for saving will have to be lowered or denied.

The rumor-ridden award of the contract for the TFX aircraft is a six-billion-dollar instance of the present Secretary deliberately and against all professional military advice, ordering on his own say- so the second best plane at the highest price.

There was no saving and no security there!

There can be no second best in our defenses, no matter the cost, if we are to deter war and keep the peace.

The sorry record of the present civilian administration of the Department of Defense has been piling up in the hearings of committees in both the Senate and the House. Technical writers have exposed much of the record. It is to be hoped that all who are genuinely interested in the defense of this nation will support efforts to continue the exposure, despite the efforts of the Secretary of Defense to divert attention by slick, figure-juggling performances.

There is more at stake here than the pet theories of the White House's pet cabinet officer. Peace and freedom and the future of your world and your children's world is at stake.



I am speaking for peace when I say we must build our strength and show the will to halt the Reds' aggression. I am speaking for peace when I say we must quit helping the Reds -- by sending them wheat, for example -- to keep their oppressive and unsound system alive.

Their system has so many intrinsic faults it would collapse if it weren't braced from the outside.

Appease an aggressor, try to make friends with him, and eventually you'll have to go to war with him -- unless you're willing to hand over your freedom without a fight. History shrieks this lesson, but this present Administration cannot hear.

Three times in the past, the way of weakness had led us to war under similar administrations. Don't let it happen again. The next war -- and God forbid that it will ever come -- would be more devastating than all the others put together.

Don't let it happen again. I speak for peace, not war, when I say that America must take a firm line with Communist leaders until their evil system ceases to threaten the freedom of man and the peace of the world.

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